The CRISIS

JUNE-JULY, 1957

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Please do not be alarmed if you fail to receive your copy of *The Crisis* on August 1.

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The August and September issues of *The Crisis* are combined issues — August and September. This August-September issue will be out on September 1, 1957.

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
Editorial Advisory Board: Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, Carl Murphy

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June-July, 1957

COVER

Marsha Rose Hood of Baltimore, Maryland, great-granddaughter of John H. Murphy, Sr., founder of the *Afro-American Newspapers*, is a freshman at Howard University majoring in journalism. She is also the youngest Negro harpist in the world and a former student of Frank Pizza of the Peabody Conservatory of Music in Baltimore—Photo by Anton Studio.

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SAM WOODSON, *member of the Eastern Long Island, New York, branch and rescuer of little Bennie Hooper from the well on Long Island, receives his NAACP life membership plaque from Dr. Eugene T. Reed (right) in the presence of John Cameron Swayze. The following branches donated to his life membership: Eastern L. I., $250; Jamaica, $75; Central L. I., $50; Far Rockaway, $35; Glen Cove, $25; and Corona, $15. The total $500.*

■ Sketch of a great criminal lawyer in action written on the 100th anniversary of his birth

Waiting for a Verdict with Clarence Darrow

By Cash Asher

THE press room in the Court house in Detroit on that afternoon of May 13, 1926, was unusually quiet. People talked in subdued tones. Reporters for the afternoon newspapers had telephoned in their stories. I was with the *Free Press*, a morning newspaper. We were waiting for a verdict in the most dramatic case that had ever been tried in the city of Detroit.

Leaning back in a chair in the Press Room, completely relaxed, yet dominating everything in sight, was Clarence Darrow, attorney for the defense. His gray wool suit draped, rather than fitted, his gaunt frame, and his black tie was pulled to one side. Time had bent his shoulders, thinned the hair on his dome-like head, and etched a filigree of wrinkles around his mouth and eyes. His skin was brown, and parched, but his eyes were youthful, like bright blue agates set into the face of an old, old statue.

Arthur Garfield Hays, famous civil-rights attorney, sat at a table in the press room, drinking coffee. He had assisted Darrow in the case. Grouped at a window overlooking the busy street were Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; James Weldon Johnson, poet-president of the same organization; Mrs. Haldeman-Julius, wife and partner of the publisher of the five-cent Blue Book Classics; and several newspaper reporters.

Less than half an hour earlier, we

CASH ASHER, *who now lives in Corpus Christi, Texas, was a reporter on the Detroit Free Press when Darrow, Arthur Garfield Hayes, and Dudley Malone were for the defense in the Ossian Sweet Case. The trial here described was the second trial, the first trial of Dr. Sweet and his ten co-defendants having ended on November 27, 1926 in jury disagreement. Clarence Darrow (1857-1938), one of America's great criminal lawyers, was attorney in many famous cases: Debs, William Haywood, McNamara brothers, Scopes Evolution, etc.*

had watched the jury file out to settle the fate of Dr. Ossian Sweet and ten other Negroes, charged with killing one white man and wounding another by gunfire from a house that Dr. Sweet had purchased on the rim of a white district. The Negroes had helped Dr. Sweet move his furniture into the house and a mob had assembled across the street and were hurling stones and bricks. The Negroes cowered in the building. One of the women was injured by a stone that crashed through a window pane. The mob surged across the street, Dr. Sweet's brother fired blindly. A dozen policemen in the mob invaded the house then and arrested the occupants.

"PATHOLOGICAL WEARINESS"

Darrow had come out of pathological weariness and retirement to defend the Negroes; but once he had thrown his still great energies into the case, he used it as a klieg-lighted platform to express his beliefs on the equality of man. He was trying the human race, more than the defendants. He had excellent subjects to exhibit. Dr. Sweet was one of the outstanding Negroes of the time. He had won a scholarship to the Sorbonne in France, where he worked with Madame Curie and had completed his studies of medicine and surgery. He had won recognition in medical journals for a delicate operation, never before successfully performed, and which opened the door for a new advance in surgery. One of his brothers, also on trial, was a practicing dentist; another, a college student. The other defendants, their wives, and relatives, belonged to the cultured segment of Negro society, and the contrast between them and many of the illiterate witnesses who testified against them was striking. But the qualities and virtues of the defendants would have gone unnoticed and unsung had not Darrow humanized the attitude of people toward them, and brought into focus in graphic language the equality of races, peoples, and creeds, under the laws of man and the edicts of Creation.

In his final argument, Darrow, traced the Negro up through the eons of his evolution, traced him in his ancestral habitat along the Zambezi River, traced him through the Gethsemane of slavery, pictured him being tortured by the Simon Legrees of Puritanism; as the victim of mob violence, burning at the stake, and finally, emerging into the hope of a new day.

His closing words spoken with muted emotion, still filled our minds:

"I do not believe in the law of hate. I may not be true to my ideals always, but I believe in the law of love, and I believe you can do nothing with hatred. I would like to see a time when a man loves his fellow man and forgets his color and creed. We will never be civilized until that time comes. I know the Negro race has a long road to go. I believe the life of the Negro has been a life of tragedy, of injustice, and of oppression. The law has made him equal, but man has not. . . ."

"VALLEY OF HISTORY"

The judge who sat on the bench for weeks in this trial, listening attentively to the testimony and the

reconstruction of scenes and dramas from the hills and valley of history, was a young man, not more than thirty. He had served in the army as a captain, and as assistant district attorney before being elected to the bench of Recorder's Court. Other judges had eagerly relinquished their privilege of trying this explosive case to the young, "foolhardy" jurist. The case had originated in a maelstrom of hate. The Ku Klux Klan was a fearsome political power in Detroit, and thousands of workers, imported from the Deep South by automobile manufacturers had joined it. The city's Negro population of sixty-five thousand was bursting out of its segregated bounds. Several families had been stoned. The case was charged with political dynamite, yet it turned out to be a dynamic force, projecting the young judge successively into the offices of the Mayor of Detroit, Governor of Michigan, Attorney General of the United States, and finally to United States Supreme Court Justice.

The Judge was Frank Murphy.

In an address to a service club during the trial, he had said:

"I have no sympathy for crime, but as I sit on the bench of Recorder's Court and witness the drab parade of crushed hopes and broken lives pass by, I cannot help but feel that a God of Justice, supplementing the weak and fallible justice of man, will not omit from his reckoning the social and economic factors that largely muster this tragic array."

After he had charged the jury and stepped down from the bench, he said to reporters:

"This is the greatest experience of my life. That was Clarence Darrow at his best. I will never hear anything like it again. He is the most Christlike man I have ever known."

CLARENCE SEWARD DARROW
(1857-1938)

The two men were much alike in their attitudes and thinking on the social level. They swung verbal hatchets at prejudice, fought against injustice, championed the oppressed. Classes, castes, races and colors had no place in the free worlds of their minds. The big difference between them was in the field of formalized religion. Murphy was a Catholic; Darrow, an agnostic. But their fundamental understanding of the forces that motivate the actions of mankind were noticeably similar.

As the hours passed during that tedious afternoon of waiting in the press room, many people came and went;

but Darrow, White, and Johnson remained, vigilant to the last. Hays and Mrs. Haldeman-Julius went to their hotel rooms to rest. Robert Toms, the tall, handsome prosecutor, came in for a post-mortem chat with Darrow. His respect for the greatest criminal lawyer of the generation had never wavered during the trial. Darrow had tried to prod him into hostility, and had accused him lightly of using a "technique of deference" in order to impress the jury, but he never retaliated.

The nation was in the throes of Prohibition, or the "noble experiment" at the time; but now, from some mysterious source, appeared a bottle of Scotch. A reporter poured drinks.

Toms looked anxiously toward the press room door, saw a reporter standing guard, and accepted the glass, as did Darrow.

Local and area leaders of the colored population came in to gratefully grasp the hand of Darrow and to talk with White and Johnson. This was the first time that Negroes had ever been welcomed in the press room.

"SARDONIC SMILE"

Walter White didn't look like a Negro. He had light complexion, blue eyes and blonde hair. He was new in the NAACP. We didn't know anything about him in Detroit. He had joined us at the press table as a correspondent for "Eastern newspapers," and we had accepted him as a brilliant white member of our craft; that is, until Darrow put him on the witness stand the first day of the trial, and identified him as part Negro. I believe Darrow did this to shock us, for he glanced at us with a sardonic smile as he brought out the information.

White was a slight man, weighing not more than one hundred thirty pounds, but he possessed a brilliant, educated mind that was to carry him far in his efforts to better the position of the Negro in the United States. His books and magazine articles, and his management of the NAACP, were to make him the best crusader for the Negro race long before his death in 1955.

As we waited for the verdict, Darrow showed signs of restlessness. He asked a reporter for a cigarette, and puffed at it in awkward fashion. He seldom smoked or drank, and the one small glass of Scotch was all he would take.

"What do you think?" he asked the press collectively. "Will we win or lose?"

The reporters were divided. Some thought there would be an acquittal, others, a disagreement; one, a conviction.

"I wish I knew what that one juror was thinking," Darrow fretted, a trace of worry in his eyes. "He was the most stubborn man I ever ran up against. I didn't make any impression on him. His mind is made up, and I doubt if anything can change it. I wonder if he is for, or against us."

The muffled voices of the jury came through the door and the bailiff relayed to us fragments of conversation he overheard. He thought the first vote was eight to four for an acquittal. The second was nine to three, he told me, for an acquittal.

He told me that one man had taken a Haldeman-Julius Blue Book and a pack of cigars from his pocket on first entering the jury room and said to his fellow jurors: "When you get ready to vote not guilty, call on me. Until then I am not interested," and he had lighted a cigar, seated himself comfortably and started reading his book.

I related this to Darrow, and all of his wrinkles smiled. Now he knew where the "most stubborn man" stood. He went outside the Press Room and paced along the corridor with his big hands shoved deep into the pockets of his coat, then returned and stood for a time looking down over the street, as the April sun slid lower and lower behind the city's buildings, leaving a roseate glow in the sky. He seemed to sense that the jury was close to a decision. Nor was he wrong, for as he stood there, the press room door was thrust open by a deputy sheriff who announced importantly:

"The jury is ready to report. Judge Murphy will be down in ten minutes."

"ELECTRIC SHOCK"

The news hit us with the force of an electric shock. We hadn't expected it so soon. The jury hadn't asked for clarification of anything. James Weldon Johnson's features turned a ghastly pale. Walter White fumbled with a cigarette.

Darrow's slumping shoulders straightened. He brushed his hand through his thinning hair, and buttoned his coat.

We trooped down to the courtroom, all hoping for an acquittal; for it is doubtful that a group of people anywhere in the world at any time in its history, had ever had a better education in all the fact and factors leading up to a conclusion in a court trial.

Darrow walked into the courtroom and sat down at the defense counsel's table. He was joined by Hays. The Prosecutor came in and took his place. Word that a verdict had been reached had spread rapidly and the courtroom was soon jammed. The judge came out of his chambers and took his place on the elevated bench. The jury was seated in their box. There was neither motion nor sound in the dramatic stillness of the courtroom.

"Gentlemen of the jury, have you reached a verdict?" the judge asked.

The foreman stood up: "We have, your honor."

"What is your verdict?"

"We find the defendant not guilty," he replied and sat down.

Pandemonium started to break, but the judge rapped with his gavel. The tumult stopped as the judge thanked the jury for their efforts to "arrive at a just verdict."

Then he rose and walked down to where the defendant sat, and held out his hand.

"I believe it is a just and reasonable verdict, and may God bless you," he said.

Then he went back into his private office. Attorneys, spectators and court attendants crowded around Darrow. Tears were in many eyes.

The jury came forward to shake Darrow's hand and to congratulate him. One juror was dry-smoking a

(*Continued on page* 383)

Scott L. Hende

QUEEN OF NAACP *Class II branches, Mrs. Elizabeth Harris of the Salem Virginia, branch who reported $330.80 in the local branch drive.*

THE *youth group of the Muncie, Indiana, NAACP as they prepare to join in the heart drive in Eastern Indiana. This was the group's first venture into civic affairs and in two hours they had raised more than $70. Pictured (from L) are LaVon Scott, president; Mary Vivian Anderson, recording secretary; Hattie McCain, corresponding secretary; Nate Pittman, vice-president; and Eugene Thompkins, treasurer.*

The Delta chapter of Chi Delta Mu fraternity makes final payment of $300, through its president, Dr. R. J. Jenkins, on its NAACP life membership. Others pictured are (from L) Dr. E. Patterson, Marion Stewart of the NAACP national office, and past chapter president Dr. Waters.

Mrs. Marion Jennings, president of the Fairfield, Connecticut, chapter of the Girl Friends, Inc., makes an initial payment on her chapter's NAACP life membership to Marion Stewart (R), in charge of NAACP life membership solicitations.

Arthur Johnson, executive secretary of the Detroit, Michigan, branch presents Mrs. George Hayes, president of the Detroit Girl Friends, her chapter's NAACP life membership plaque. Mrs. Guy Saulsberry, chairman of the ways and means committee of the Girl Friends, looks on.

Past president Rev. L. C. Johnson (R) of the Petersburg, Virginia, branch greets Rev. Ralph D. Abnernathy, pastor First Baptist church, Montgomery, Alabama, and president Montgomery Improvement Association. At left, Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, pastor Gillfield Baptist church and president of the Petersburg branch. Rev. Abnernathy was principal speaker at local branch meeting.

Lord Mayor Briscoe of Dublin, Republic of Ireland, visits a patient, a double amputee, in the Jewish Memorial Hospital of Boston, Massachusetts. Co-chairman of the NAACP life membership committee, Kivie Kaplan, stands second from left.

NAACP youth council and college chapter leaders enjoy themselves at a square dance given during the Coordinating Council leadership training conference held in Holiday Hills, Pawling, New York.

■ What happened to a Florida State University student when he tried to practice brotherhood

How I Became a University Bugbear

By John Boardman

IT IS a tragic indictment of America when the iron hand of racism can reach into a Christmas party and shame this country before dozens of its foreign guests.

Yet that is what happened at Florida State University as a result of the presence of three Negroes at a Christmas party of the International Students' Club on December 11, 1956. These Negroes, all from outside the United States, were students at Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, a jim-crow school located, like Florida State University, in Tallahassee. The International Students' Club is a group of FSU students, American and foreign, devoted to promoting understanding and friendship among students of all lands. I was a member of this club, and it was at my suggestion that the club president invited the Negro students to the party.

The invitation to these Negroes was approved, in principle, by the club's adviser, Frank Bean, and by the FSU dean of students, R. R. Oglesby. However, both men felt that university regulations might prohibit the presence of Negroes at a school social function. Since such regulations had been rendered obsolete by the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in public education, the Negroes were invited anyway.

No one at the party objected to the presence of the Negro students. President Doak S. Campbell of FSU was at the party, and he assured Laura Lee, of the school's art department, that he did not disapprove of our guests. Miss Lee later told me of his attitude when I ventured some doubts that these guests would be generally welcome.

The members of the International Students' Club, both American and foreign, made sure that their guests

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JOHN BOARDMAN, *a native of Tallahassee, Florida, is at the moment residing in New York City.*

felt at home. The three Negro students, two of them came from the Bahamas and one from Panama, later told me that they had really appreciated the atmosphere there. As the party broke up, I had no idea that the universally welcomed presence of the Negro foreign students would be made the excuse for my expulsion from Florida State University, and for the restriction of student freedom of speech and assembly.

NON-VIOLENT STRUGGLE

While a student at Florida State University, I had been deeply interested in the non-violent struggle of Tallahassee's Negroes against segregation on public transportation. With other students, I attended mass meetings of the Inter-Civic Council, which co-ordinated the Tallahassee anti-segregation activities. On January 11, 1957, I signed, with three other students, a letter to the student newspaper which urged more students to come to these mass meetings. Immediately, all four of us were summoned to the office of Sam Neel, dean of men. He informed me that I risked disciplinary action in continuing these activities, and that if I did so, the Christmas party incident would be made the excuse for such disciplinary action. He also told me that my constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly were limited by university policy as established by the Florida Board of Control, which thus placed itself in the position of overruling the Supreme Court's determination that segregation in public education is unlawful. Furthermore, he threatened my professional career with vague intimations that he would be "forced" to answer requests for references by saying that I could not be relied upon to obey regulations. Finally, he told me that my support of integration indicated mental instability.

Faced with the prospect of such a broad smear on my reputation, I sent to the student newspaper an account of my interview with Dean Neel. He apparently did not feel that I had in any way misrepresented him, since he refused offer of newspaper space to give his side of the story.

However, it was a speech I gave at a mass meeting of the Inter-Civic Council on January 23 that climaxed the issue. As a registered voter in Tallahassee, I urged the election of the Rev. Mr. K. S. duPont, a Negro, to the City Commission. On the evening of January 25, the Tallahassee White Citizens' Council demanded my expulsion. On the morning of January 26, Dean Oglesby informed me that I would not be permitted to register for the spring semester.

Dean Oglesby's accusations were extremely inaccurate and erroneous. He accused me of violating his orders in inviting the Negro students to the Christmas party, although at the time I had received no direct communication from him on the subject. He accused me of violating Florida's so-called "Little Hatch Act" in urging Rev. Mr. duPont's election, although I was not being paid out of state funds, and he was scarcely qualified to indict or try me under this act. He accused me of violating a Board of Control regulation against demonstrations or incitement to violence on the segregation issue, al-

though all I had done was to participate peacefully and lawfully in the political affairs of the community in which I was a resident and a registered voter. He then offered me a chance to continue as a student if I stopped supporting integration. This I refused.

APPEAL DENIED

I appealed my expulsion to President Campbell, but like his subordinates, he set his petty personal prejudices above the constitution of the United States, and came to the rescue of jim crow by supporting Dean Oglesby's action. The resulting damage to the reputation of Florida State University as a community of scholars thus became his responsibility.

I do not intend to let this expulsion stand as a blot against my academic record without a fight. I am filing suit to get permission to reregister at Florida State University. This suit is in the extremely competent hands of Francisco A. Rodriguez, the attorney for the Inter-Civic Council, who has already distinguished himself in his defense of the organizers of the Tallahassee car pool.

After my departure from FSU, I wrote to the department of physics of Stevens Institute of Technology, in Hoboken, New Jersey, asking about the possibilities of continuing by studies there. Prof. W. H. Bostick, the department chairman, wired back that they would be glad to have me with them at Stevens. However, when I arrived at Stevens, Dean Merrill objected. It was claimed that my admission would bring Stevens "bad publicity". Prof. Bostick and the rest of the physics department backed me up, but their efforts seem to have been unsuccessful. My application to enter Stevens has still not been formally acted upon, but unless Dean Merrill can be induced to change his mind, I will not be able to enter Stevens Tech. Needless to say, Dean Oglesby of FSU has been doing a thorough job of character assasination in supplying a reference for me. Despite this brief setback, we feel certain that our efforts to bring the twentieth century to Florida and Florida's universities will not fail.

THE JOHN HAYNES HOLMES-ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY AWARD *of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Science was presented to NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins at the UFSC's annual dinner meeting in Boston, Massachusetts, on May 24. The award, presented annually to an individual "who has provided outstanding leadership in social justice during the year," cited Mr. Wilkins for his leadership of "that courageous organization, the NAACP." In his acceptance address, Mr. Wilkins recalled that Dr. Holmes had been one of the 53 leaders who signed the Lincoln Day call in 1909 which led to the organization of the NAACP.*

In winning countless victories against bigotry and injustice the **NATIONAL ASSOCIATION** for the **ADVANCEMENT** of **COLORED PEOPLE** has brought immeasurably nearer the emancipation of all people who cherish equality of opportunity for all.

TO **ROY WILKINS**, ITS ABLE LEADER WHOSE POISE, COURAGE, HUMILITY AND UNCLOUDED VISION EXEMPLIFIES ALL THAT IS FINEST IN AMERICA'S DEMOCRACY,
the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
PRESENTS THIS CITATION.

Lois M. McCulloch
PRESIDENT
Caroline C. Brandon
SECRETARY

May 24, 1957

Layne's Studio

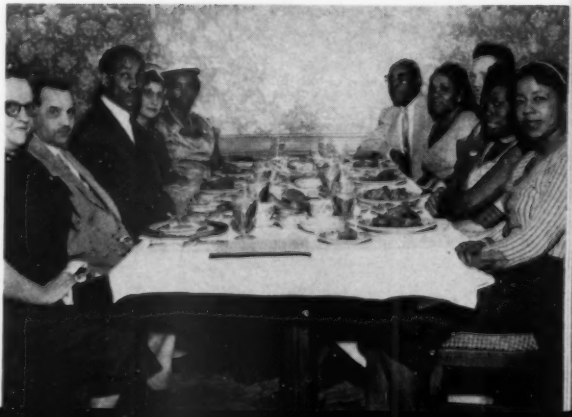
MAYOR ROBERT F. WAGNER *of New York City presents a Proclamation naming May 13-19 as "NAACP Week" in Greater New York and endorsing the Metropolitan Area Membership Campaign. From left, James Josey, president Staten Island branch; Elsie Carrington, president Bronx branch; Lucille Black, NAACP membership secretary; and Russell Crawford, president Manhattan branch. The campaign goal is 41,000 members.*

Brooklyn New York branch campaigners: Rev. Milton A. Galamison, president of the Brooklyn branch, and Mrs. Frances Blackwell, campaign director, are seated fourth and fifth from left.

Layne's Studio

PARTICIPANTS *in "kick-off dinner" of the Metropolitan Area Membership Campaign pictured here (from left) are Gloster Current, branch director; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, board chairman; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary; Russell Crawford, president Manhattan branch; Franklin Williams, director Freedom Fund drive; and Father Archibald McLees of the Brooklyn branch.*

Representatives of the Jamaica, New York, branch, participants in the Metropolitan Area drive, include Attorney Florence Lucas (standing). The Jamaica goal for 1957 is 3,000 members.



Far Rockaway-Inwood representatives at the dinner include Edward Gibbs, branch president, seated third from left.

Layne's Studio

NEW YORK CITY *Department of Welfare representatives were guests of honor at the "kick-off dinner" of the Metropolitan Area Membership Campaign. They included leaders of the NAACP campaign in the Department of Welfare, which enrolled more than 1,400 members and collected $5,200. The three campaign directors in the Department were Mrs. Alice T. Rothholtz, seated fifth from left; Mary Feeley, second from right, next to Mrs. Channing H. Tobias, wife of the NAACP board chairman; and seated next to Miss Feely is the third director, Thomas H. Allen and Mrs. Roy Wilkins, secretary to the Department and wife of NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins.*

Representatives of the Corona-East Elmhurst branch display their trophy won in the 1956 Metropolitan Area Membership Campaign.

Layne's Studio

Layne's Studio

QUEENS COLLEGE, *New York City, students enjoy themselves at a Calypso and Mambo benefit sponsored by the Queens College chapter of the NAACP. The affair netted $91 for the Association's Fight for Freedom Fund.*

Louis Jordan (center), noted band leader, receives his NAACP life membership plaque from Jackie Robinson in the presence of Franklin Williams, NAACP 1957 FFF director, at the Apollo Theatre in New York City.

Layne's Studio

L. D. Harper

LOUIS "SATCHMO" ARMSTRONG *addresses the NAACP Manhattan youth membership rally on May 3 in New York City. Mr. Armstrong urged the young people to prepare themselves now for the better jobs which are now being opened up to Negroes. Borough President Hulan Jack is seated at left on the platform.*

GOVERNOR AVERELL HARRIMAN *of New York signs act to eliminate racial discrimination in labor-management apprenticeship training programs in New York State. Guests witnessing signing are (from left) Assemblyman Kenneth M. Phipps, co-sponsor of the measure; and Industrial Commissioner Isador Lubin.* BOTTOM: *Roy Wilkins (left) greets Borough President Hulan Jack (center) and William Rowe, winners of Manhattan youth council citations for distinguished service in public affairs and public relations, respectively. Others pictured are youth council president Joseph Brown (second from left) and Louis Armstrong.*

A $3,000 CHECK, *largest donation the District of Columbia branch has ever received, is being presented to Eugene Davidson (right), branch president, by E. W. Brooks, Sr., from the estate of the late Mrs. Annie Oden Green, a local florist who died two years ago. Attorney Robert J. Harlan (center), counsel for the estate, is looking on.*

■ This writer offers a brief survey of the demographic problems of underpopulated Africa

Lysistrata à l'Africaine

By Irene Diggs

EXCEPT for parts of Europe, North America and some areas of Asia, there is lack of accurate and reliable information with regard to population statistics. Knowledge of the mortality, morbidity, fertility, age, sex ratio, and distribution of the population of Africa in general and tropical Africa in particular is probably more inadequate than for any other inhabited portion of the world. When statistics with reference to the population of the various regions of Africa are available their relative reliability cannot always be vouched for. There is considerable laxity in reporting births, death, and migration. No sizeable portion of Africa has ever had a scientifically conducted, detailed, and systematic census. Such a census is difficult, if not impossible, because of the prevalence of illiteracy, the paucity of trained Africans available to help, the distrust of the enumerators' motive, the physical obstacles occasioned by a scattered population, and the ignorance of time and arithmetic on the part of the African.

The statistics available are based on sample surveys, computations from tax lists and cards upon which vital statistics of an individual are recorded and kept on file in government offices, estimates compiled by administrators with the assistance of untrained or semi-trained Africans. In the Belgian Congo it has been estimated that perhaps there are cards for no more than two-thirds of the population. There are those who say the estimates tend toward over- and others say toward under-enumeration. When growth or decline seems apparent there is uncertainty as to whether it is actual or the result of improved methods of enumeration. Yet during recent years there is increasing awareness that Africa is not a continent of teeming millions and that in some areas it is not reproducing itself. I was definitely impressed with the emptiness of Africa.

DR. IRENE DIGGS, *a frequent* Crisis *contributor and professor of anthropology at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland, has traveled extensively in black Africa.*

Tropical Africa has been divided by some demographers into three major population areas. The West Africa-Sudan region with the highest average population density in tropical Africa averages about eleven persons per square kilometer and includes the French Cameroons, the northern section of French Equatorial Africa, and all the lands westward. The Central African area, including the remainder of the French Cameroons and French Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo, except the northeastern parts, Spanish Guinea, Angola and the Rhodesias, has a relatively sparse population averaging 3.4 persons per square kilometer. East Africa, including Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Ruanda-Urundi, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, Mozambique, and Madagascar, has an average population density of about 10.3 persons per square kilometer. Within these areas detailed analysis will disclose widely varying population densities ranging from ten persons per square kilometer to one hundred per square kilometer and in some areas may even exceed one hundred. The Central African area contains regions of considerable size which are essentially unoccupied; that is, with less than one person per square kilometer; for example, in southern Angola, Northern Rhodesia, the central Congo Basin, French Equatorial Africa and the French Cameroons. There are some densely populated areas however. In the highland of Ruanda-Urundi the population averages 73.8 per square kilometer with some areas reaching a density of three or even four hundred per square kilometer. There are similar densities in the highlands of central Kenya and smaller clusters in northern Tanganyika, in the lowlands bordering Lake Victoria, and the shores of Lake Nyasa. Nowhere in Africa is there any considerable area with a density of population comparable to that of India, Indo-China, or Indonesia.

POPULATION ESTIMATES

Early estimates of the population of Africa were little more than guesses based on insufficient and unreliable data. Estimates of the population before the Congo was "discovered" by the Portuguese near the end of the fifteenth century, when European contact was with the mouth of the Congo and not with the interior, are mostly imaginative. Calculations at different times and by various persons reveal wide variations. At one time the population of the Congo was guessed at about forty million; in 1910 it was estimated to be about fifteen million and in 1933 the administration accepted ten million as about the number of inhabitants. The most recent estimate of the African population of the Belgian Congo (1951) is about 11,600,000 and for Ruanda-Urundi (1950) about 3,900,000, making a total of about fifteen and a half million.

In the past, administrators in the Congo were convinced of depopulation as a fact. The Permanent Committee of the National Colonial Congress in Belgium declared in 1924 that there was danger that the Congolese population might "collapse or disappear." The recognition of a diminishing Congolese population, and the anxiety felt regarding the decline, led to an intensive study of health and labor by the Belgian gov-

ernment. Today one of the pressing problems of the Belgian administration is the promotion of population growth in the Congo.

There is a literature on the subject of fertility in the Belgian Congo based on rather meager and unreliable statistics. Since there is laxity in birth registration, absence of age structure and sex-ratio information, factors of much relevance to fertility, figures available on fertility are based on a series of sample studies. The most extensive sample is conducted annually by the government and covers only about three per cent of the total population, but includes inhabitants from each of the *territoires*. Additional statistical information is contributed by urban administrators, a small number of medical scholars, Christian missions which keep registers of births, baptisms, marriages, and burials; and the Queen Elisabeth Fund for medical assistance to the indigenous population of the Belgian Congo. These statistics do not support the stereotyped notion of an unusually high African birth rate. The Belgian Congo had an estimated crude birth rate of 30.5 in 1950, with great variation from one section to another: Tshuapa District had eighteen births per one thousand inhabitants in 1950 and Haut-Katanga had forty-eight per one thousand inhabitants. There are even more striking differences among individual tribes. The Bakusu of Kindu territoire, Kivu province, have a crude birth rate of six per one thousand,[1] and the Banya-Ruanda tribe of *Masisi Territoire* within the same province have a crude birth rate of eighty-eight per one thousand. There are numerous cases where a tribe may have a birth rate two to four times greater than that of a neighboring tribe.

[1] Less than 20 per one thousand is considered low; over forty per one thousand is considered high.

LOW FERTILITY

"The only regions whose fertility is high enough to make possible a rapid growth of population, other factors remaining at average levels, are [sections of] Ruanda-Urundi . . . the environs of Stanleyville, and the southeastern portion of Katanga. Throughout most of the *cuvette centrale* and Uele, as well as in scattered sections of Katanga and Kasai, fertility levels are so low as to denote rapid population loss and even the imminent disappearance of some groups. In the remaining areas of Belgian Africa—roughly those with between 100 and 140 children per 100 adult females—it is not clear whether fertility is adequate to maintain present numbers."

There is some evidence to indicate that the high fertility pattern of the Bas-Congo is related to the superior medical facilities and better economic conditions of this region. There is some evidence that fertility rates are higher among the Christianized groups which now include about one-quarter of the total population, while, on the other hand, polygamy may have a depressing effect upon the fertility of non-Christian peoples.

For some the explanation of low fertility has its beginnings in the economic and labor policies of the Free State. The era of the Congo Free State (1885-1908) was a period not only of reckless exploitation of

natural but also of human resources, and this may have resulted in an absolute reduction in the population. The change from the Congo Free State to the Belgian Colony may have resulted in some improvement in living and health conditions. However, the great demands on Congo manpower during and immediately after the world wars and the severe 1944-45 famine in Ruanda-Urundi may have resulted in a decline of the population. For others it is due to the introduction of diseases from Europe and the spread of indigenous diseases as a result of improvement in communication and transportation. "A low state of physical well-being characterizes the native population of Belgian Africa and this condition of poor health seriously reduces their productive capacity." The high incidence of debilitating and lethal diseases may be the result of malnutrition and dietary deficiencies associated with poverty and unhygenic conditions. Nutritional and health conditions must affect the fertility rate, but on these topics there is dearth of data.

"CULTURAL SHOCK"

There is the general and vague explanation of "la pénétration européene" (European occupation). The cultural shock and social disorganization with the coming of the European may have had some effect upon the fertility pattern. Certainly migration to urban and industrial areas is a very significant factor as a cause of low fertility among indigenous populations. The Belgian government within recent years has sponsored mass relocation of groups from Ruanda-Urundi to the Kivu and oriental provinces of the Congo. The Belgian administration makes little effort to record all migrational movements within the colony and knowledge must be pieced together from labor force material, the sample surveys of vital statistics, the statements in official reports, the study of available sex-ratio distributions, the location of tribal and non-tribal groups, and recent population changes. The number of young people migrating to Léopoldville and the Katanga mining centers is probably increasing. Those who have studied the situation write: "There is a decided correlation between zones of out-migration and those of low fertility."

The necessity for an explanation of group variations in fertility rates, especially variations in fertility between groups living close together and under similar conditions, still remains. There are those who hint at the possibility that the young women of the Congo have made the decision not to have children: "Dans la passé, le choc psychologique déterminé par le début de l'occupation, suscitait chez un certain nombre de femmes Mongo jeunes, la décision de ne pas avoir d'enfants." ("The psychological impact of European occupation in the past has made many young Mongo women decide not to have children.") It is a relatively well established fact that knowledge of methods and techniques for causing abortion is rather widespread, albeit at times they also cause poisoning and death of the mother.

African demography is an important factor in Africa's future. The fact that black Africa is sparsely rather

(*Continued on page* 383)

NAACP *youth secretary Herbert L. Wright (right) presents Association check covering tuition and expenses for ousted Alcorn students to President Charles Wesley of Central State College. They are (from L) Charles Hibbler, Ruby Lee Hibbler, and Ernest McEwen.*

What Happened in the Alcorn College Student Strike

ON March 8, 1957, an event unprecedented in the annals of Negro-white relationship in the state of Mississippi took place. It was at 11:55 A.M. on the above date that young Ernest McEwen, then president of the study body at Alcorn A&M College, Alcorn, Mississippi, read a prepared statement to newspapermen, which had been unanimously approved by the A&M student body, in which they agreed to withdraw from the college rather than face expulsion for failure to return to classes. It was this mass act of defiance by Negro students against the symbol of Mississippi power and authority—the all white board of directors—that shook the very foundations of white supremacy and the jim-crow system in that state.

The college's 570 students had

previously walked out of classes on March 6, in protest against the use of pictures of members of the student body in connection with a series of pro-segregation articles written for the Jackson *Mississippi State Times* newspaper, by Professor Clennon King, a member of Alcorn's history department. The college's all-white board of directors met on Thursday, March 7, and adopted a resolution which (1) called on President J. R. Otis to call a meeting of the student body Friday morning, March 8, to notify the students that they must return to classes at the next regular class period; (2) that if the students did not return to classes they could go to the business office and receive a pro rata refund for board payments for the month of March, and leave the campus; (3) that in the event students did not return to classes, the dining room would be closed after Friday noon meal and that all buildings would be closed on Saturday; (4) that if all students did not return to classes by 8:00 A.M. Monday morning, March 11, they would be summarily dismissed; and (5) that all petitions and resolutions from students and members of the faculty would be considered only when students had returned to campus and were actually attending classes.

The students, in the meantime, held a meeting at which a resolution was adopted asking for the resignation of Professor Clennon King. A full student body rally was held early on the morning of Friday, March 8,

PRESIDENT CHARLES WESLEY *of Central State College reads a letter from NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins at program welcoming ousted Alcorn students to Central State College.*

at which time Professor Clennon King appeared. He refused, however, to resign from the school. The students then agreed to a walkout in protest to Professor King's continued employment by the college.

On the morning of March 9, Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, wired Ernest McEwen, president of the student council at Alcorn, as follows:

National Association for Advancement of Colored People appreciates spirit of students in opposing views expressed by Prof. Clennon King, but we deplore any pressure which denies him free speech on integration. We believe King is mistaken, but under our system of government any person has a constitutional right to express his opinion on any issue. We demand this right for ourselves and we must protect it for others. We wish free speech for all persons in the South of both races and on both sides of the integration issue without muzzle or reprisal of any kind. The issue cannot be settled fairly unless everyone is free to debate. We remain confident that in such free debate the iron-clad segregationists cannot win. We trust that some satisfactory settlement may be reached which will assure the return of students to classes and at the same time preserve Prof. King's right to freedom of expression.

The Alcorn board of directors held an emergency meeting on the morning of March 9, at which time Dr. Otis was dismissed from his position as president of the college, although Dr. Otis had already tendered his resignation, effective April 15, because of ill health.

The board then hired Dr. J. E. Boyd to succeed Dr. Otis as president of the college. Two days later, Dr. Boyd announced that all students were welcome to apply for readmission. Leaders of the student body, however, were denied readmission and it was later learned that each student readmitted would be interviewed to determine his role in the walkout, and those students who had given leadership to the walkout "would be dealt with."

At this point the NAACP stepped into the picture. At the request of the Executive Secretary of the Association the Committee on Administration, at its regular meeting on March 25, voted to give financial assistance to enable the Alcorn stu-

(*Continued on page* 382)

A foreign student at Central State greets Ernest McEwen, former president of the Alcorn Student body, and Charles and Ruby Lee Hibbler.

Without equality for everyone

there can be no

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Mrs. Katherine W. Coleman — Dr. Maurice Rabb
Earl B. Dickerson — A. Philip Randolph
Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick — Walter Reuther
Morton S. Grossman — Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
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NAACP is fighting for CIVIL RIGHTS —

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During the past years, the NAACP has taken giant strides, increasing its membership by a third, its vital core of life members by over 3,400 persons! As NAACP grows in its fight against injustice, prejudice and bitterness, so its supporting members increase in moral stature, and America in integral worth. This growth must continue if Justice for all citizens is to be assured in the courts, the schools, and in all the variations of civil rights now denied to the Negro. Keep NAACP growing, fighting, with your support; help yourself to grow as an individual, a conscious moral being. Enroll as a Life Member of the NAACP today.

Annual installments of as little as $50 or more, sent to either your local branch of NAACP or the New York headquarters, can make you a Life Member in this vital crusade.

Looking and Listening . . .

HUMAN RELATIONS

SOUTHERN novelist Lillian Smith made this observation, among others, when she received a citation in February from Americans for Democratic Action:

What some of us are trying to do in the South, today, is to create a new quality of human relations. A new thing. And in the doing of it we have our acute problems: the old and well advertised one that concerns Negroes and their fundamental rights as citizens of a democracy; and a second one that concerns the basic freedoms of all of us. The sharpest problem we have today is that in this present crisis, the white people of the South are losing their freedoms, too. They are losing their freedom to do right, to act as their conscience dictates; they are losing the freedom to obey the law: we are all being forced every day now to disregard the decision of the Supreme Court; we have lost to a shocking extent our freedom to speak out, to write, to assemble or protest and to have the friends we want in our homes; and above all else we have lost our freedom from fear. This creeping fear is the most dangerous thing we are confronted with in the South, today. In all of my lifetime I have never seen such fear. People are boycotting the whites who have taken their stand against segregation — boycotting them, not because they want to, but as one man said, 'because I am afraid not to.' When asked of whom he was afraid, he said he didn't know. He was just afraid. What this man had refused to do was sell fuel oil to a white family who have taken a stand against segregation; on one would sell the family fuel oil; nor would the bank lend them money; nor would the towns-people buy their farm products.

What has happened to cause this fear? We have no Gestapo; no secret police, yet; but we have something in our Deep South states that can be even more dangerous, for with a few honorable exceptions, our officials, governors, mayors, let the criminal element in a community handle the deviationists, with the tacit understanding that they will not be punished. This criminal element is on the loose now, with its dynamite, arson, shot guns, and even the good, thoughtful people are silent. For they, too, are afraid to speak out. And some of them, certainly some of the most respectable citizens in our communities, have begun to shun the whites who 'deviate' from the old southern way; and to boycott them. But most dangerous of all I think is the blindness and apathy that are sliding across our communities. This is a situation that we need to analyze and do something about. For it has to do with abdication of reason and conscience as well as with abdication of law. In its manifestations in certain states, Georgia being one, it reminds us too much of the Germany of the early '30's. But the point to remember is this: the United States *is not Germany;* and these things *do not have to happen* even in the deep South.

NEGRO GUESTS

ONE of the simplest things for a white American to do to get in Dutch with his neighbors is to entertain a Negro in his home as a social equal. *Presbyterian Life* (June 8, 1957) reports what happened to Dr. and Mrs. Lawrence Hofer some years ago when they entertained Negoes and how it led Mrs. Hofer to interest herself in interracial work. We quote:

Some years ago, Dr. and Mrs. Lawrence J. E. Hofer, active Presbyterians in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, were sharply criticised by neighbors for the guests entertained the previous weekend. The comments were not made because of any disturbance; in fact, the guests were away most of the time at a young people's conference. What was wrong? The guests of the Hofers were Negroes, and in an all-white neighborhood such things weren't done.

This prejudiced reaction to a situation which Dr. and Mrs. Hofer believed should not be considered out-of-the-ordinary aroused, in Mrs. Hofer particularly, an interest in improved race relations. 'I haunted the public affairs section of the libraries, reading all I could on the subject,' Mrs. Hofer recalls, 'and I prayed earnestly for help.' She attended race relations institutes at Lincoln and Fisk universities. In addition, she volunteered to serve on the Pittsburgh Council of Churches.

In 1953 Marguerite I. Hofer, a member of Pittsburgh's Bethel Presbyterian Church (the Reverend Vance Yarnelle, pastor), really found the opportunity for which she had been looking. She became the first permanent director of the Council of Industrial and Interracial Relations, a unique venture sponsored by the Pittsburgh Presbytery and the Board of National Missions. The fourteen-member council itself was founded in 1948 "to study and develop techniques for meeting the needs of the mixed and changing groups, social and economic, which are within the bounds of the local parish." Among the founders were ministers whose understanding of laboring people had been greatly enhanced through sharing in the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations.

For progress already made by the Council toward accomplishing its purposes, the C.I.I.R. and Pittsburgh Presbytery last month received recognition from the National Conference of Christians and Jews. A citation and $500 award were presented by the Ralph and Rachel Levinson Foundation for the Council's work in the field of integrated housing. . . .

"RAINBOW SEGREGATION"

THIS item from the *Berkshire Eagle* (Pittsfield, Massachusetts, March 27, 1957) speaks for itself:

A Pittsfield high school senior who is shocked to find that she is, in her own words, 'a leader in an organization which not only approves but practices segregation,' is trying to change that organization—the Order of Rainbow for Girls.

The student is 17-year-old Barbara J. McMorris. She has been in Rainbow more than four years and is now top officer in the Pittsfield assembly.

She said she found out a month ago that Rainbow by practice excludes Negro girls from membership, and she is still trying to find out whether this practice is established by constitution or by-law.

'It hit me like a bomb,' said Barbara. 'I didn't know about it, but I can only assume that our adult advisors did. It never occurred to us that such a policy might exist.

'My first impulse,' Barbara continued, 'was to resign. I had taken a definite

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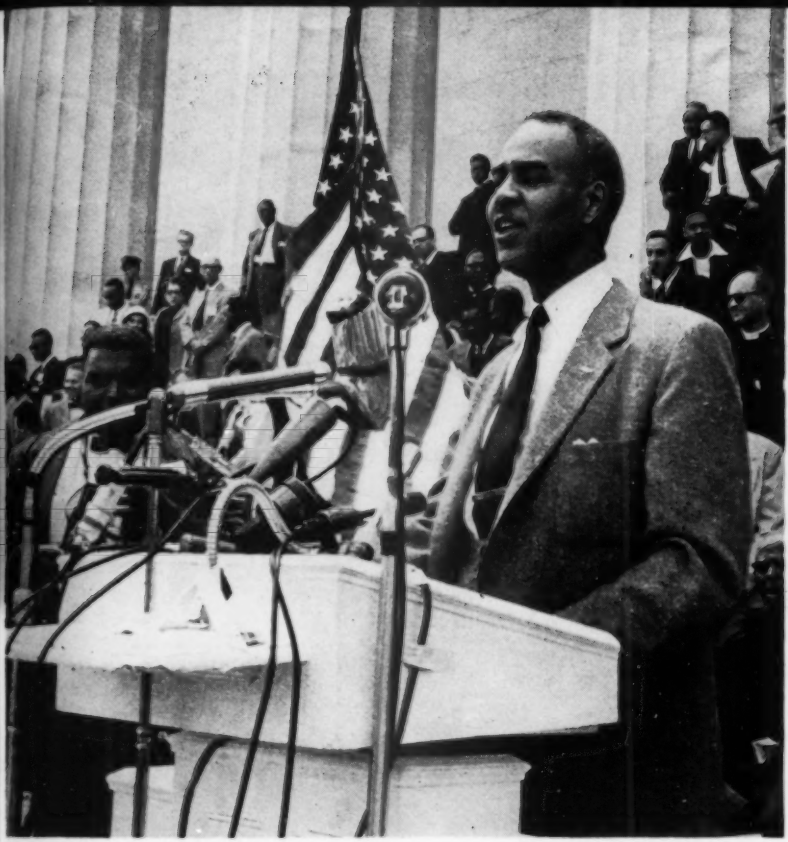
ASSEMBLED *citizens in front of the Lincoln shrine, Washington, D.C., unitedly pray for racial justice in the land of their nativity.*

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

PRAYER PILGRIMAGE

CALLED to Washington, D.C., the nation's capital, by three top leaders, 27,000 citizens from thirty-six states assembled at noon, on May 17, in front of the Lincoln shrine in a Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom. They joined unitedly in prayer and plea for racial justice in the land of their nativity. They pledged themselves not only to pray for human rights, but also to work ceaselessly through the electoral process, through the courts, and



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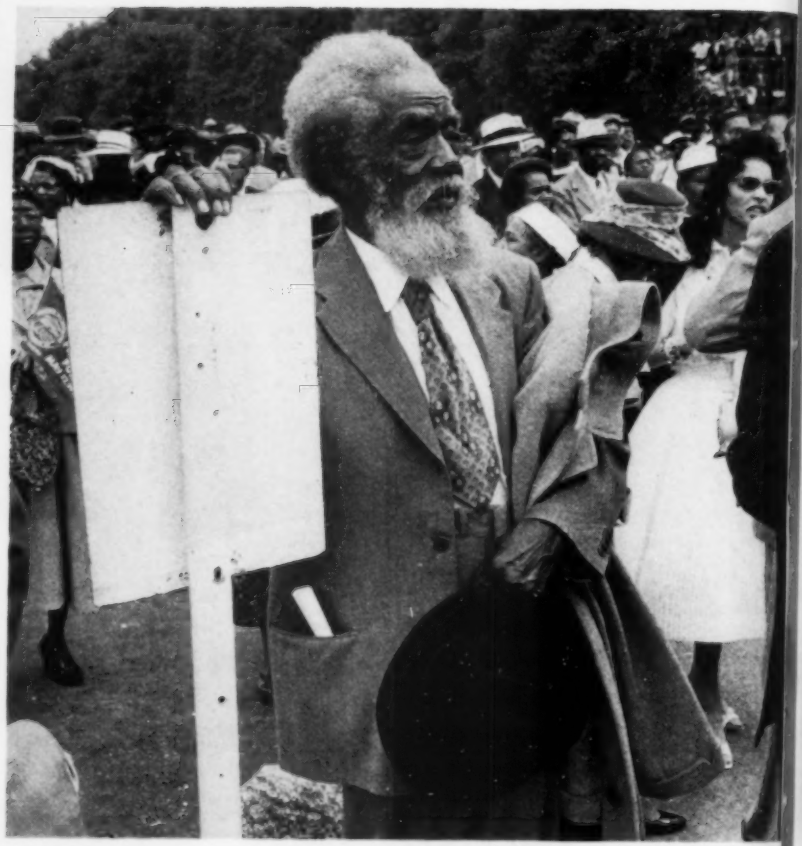
ROY WILKINS, *NAACP executive secretary, tells throng of 27,000 persons attending the May 17 Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom: "As loyal Americans, we believe that when the Supreme Court rules against a segregated public school system which has cheated our children these many decades, that that ruling should be obeyed."*

through an appeal to the conscience of the nation for the elimination of racial discrimination and segregation.

The pilgrimage was to observe the third anniversary of the United States Supreme Court's historic ruling of May 17, 1954, banning racial segregation in public education, to call for enactment of pending civil-rights legislation, to protest against mob violence and terror in the South, and to



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AN *aged delegate at the May 17 Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom prepares to leave the assembly site to return to the racial discrimination awaiting him in his home city.*

pay tribute to the memory of the Great Emancipator in the shadow of whose chaste memorial the meeting was held.

The prayers of the clergy for divine guidance in the struggle for human rights were reinforced by the pleas of veteran civil-rights advocates for action on the political front to achieve the goal of equality of rights for all American citizens. In this plea, the three co-chairmen, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO; Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary; and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, president of the Southern Leaders Conference, were joined by other speakers, both clerical and lay.

WILKINS AFFIRMS NEGRO'S AMERICANISM

THIS meeting, Mr. Wilkins told the assembled throng, "calls to our fellow Americans of every station, region, faith, and race to return to the belief in, and observance of, the enduring principles of religion, truth, justice, forbearance, love, brotherhood." The NAACP leader affirmed the Americanism of Negro citizens. "As loyal Americans," he said, "we believe that when the Supreme Court rules against a segregated public school system which has cheated our children these many decades, that ruling should be obeyed."

Citing the Scriptures, Mr. Wilkins declared prayer must be accompanied by action to achieve the goal of equal justice. "If a civil rights bill that has some meaning is not passed," he asserted, voters in 1958 and 1960 will know where to place the responsibility."

Remember he warned, "A civil rights bill that contains the phony 'jury trial' amendment in contempt proceedings will not be a civil rights bill with meaning and will *not* protect the Negroe's right to vote."

Mr. Wilkins reviewed actions of certain southern state legislatures and courts against the NAACP. These laws and injunctions, he declared, "deny basic American freedoms. They deserve the attention of every American, for they can and will be used against white citizens as well as colored. They are so oppressive that they may well force the NAACP to consider new methods of operation."

RIGHT TO VOTE STRESSED

THROUGHOUT the three and a half hour program, stress was placed on the right to vote. Mr. Wilkins' co-chairmen likewise dealt with the right to vote issue as did Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell of New York City and Charles C. Diggs of Detroit.

"We are here," labor leader Randolph declared, "to assert that the issue of civil rights in our nation today does not involve opposition of Negroes to whites or whites to Negroes. There are leaders in certain circles who would like to make this the issue, but the real issue involves conflict between certain basic social and moral values, such as freedom against

Layne's Studio

THE *three co-chairmen of the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom pledge continuing work for racial justice directly after the May 17 program. From left, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary NAACP; the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, president Southern Leaders Conference; A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO.*

slavery, truth against error, justice against injustice, the right to vote against disfranchisement, law and order against mob rule."

Mr. Randolph, who presided over the meeting, paid high tribute to the work of the NAACP "for civil rights and democracy under the able resourceful and constructive leadership of Roy Wilkins." Likewise he lauded Dr. King for "the magnificent, challenging, and successful struggle against segregated buses in Montgomery."

He warned that the southern legislative and state-court actions against the NAACP may at some future time be invoked against such organizations as the Knights of Columbus, B'nai B'rith, AFL-CIO or the Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. Further he called upon the pilgrims not to be "dismayed by the frightful wave of violence and persecution against persons of color now sweeping the South."

KING HAILS MAY 17TH RULING

"FOR all men of goodwill," Dr. King declared in the final address of the meeting, "this May 17 decision came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of enforced segregation. It came as a beacon light of hope to millions of disinherited people throughout the world who had dared only to dream of freedom."

The denial of the right to vote, the young clergyman declared "is a tragic betrayal of the highest mandates of our democratic traditions and it is democracy turned upside down. So long as I do not firmly and irrevocably possess the right to vote, I do not possess myself. I cannot make up my mind —it is made up for me. I cannot live as a democratic citizen, observing the laws I have helped to enact—I can only submit to the edict of others."

There are four areas in which "dedicated and courageous leadership" must be developed, he asserted, "if we are to solve the problems ahead and make racial justice a reality." First, he said, there must be "strong, aggressive leadership from the federal government." In the second place, he declared "there is need for strong leadership from the white northern liberals." Thirdly, "we must look for strong leadership from the moderates of the white South." And finally, he stressed the "urgent need for strong, courageous and intelligent leadership from the Negro community."

POWELL ASKS FOR "THIRD FORCE"

DISTRESSED by the lack of positive civil rights action by either Republicans or Democrats in Congress, Representative Adam Clayton

MRS. AILEEN BROWN *leads the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Fellowship House Choir, of which she is director, at the May 17 Prayer Pilgrimage.*

Layne's Studio

Powell (D., N.Y.) called for the establishment of a "third force," which, he said, should "be non-partisan, but political; non-racial, but for the time being led by our Negro clergy, who have given the greatest spiritual witness of any group in this country; non-denominational, inviting men of all faiths to follow."

Passage of the pending civil rights bill by the House of Representatives was predicted by Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., (D., Mich.). However, he continued, "if Lyndon Johnson, the Majority leader in the Senate, chooses not to try to stop the dilatory tactics of the judiciary committee headed by Eastland, it will be his responsibility to explain his inaction to those affected and concerned. If he does not explain it adequately, a lot of good Democrats are going to suffer in the next election, and more and more protest votes against Dixiecrats will be cast for Republicans by southern Negroes."

Senator Jacob K. Javits, who had been invited to participate in the program, sent a telegram expressing his regret that he could not attend and affirming his conviction that "the right of our citizens to peaceably assemble and petition the government for redress of deep grievances is one of the most precious rights secured by our Constitution."

DR. JOHNSON SPEAKS

OTHER speakers included Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, who made an eloquent plea for defense of the NAACP in its fight for civil rights; four southern leaders of action to eliminate segregation in buses in their respective cities: Reverends William H. Borders, Atlanta; C. K. Steele, Tallahasse, Fla.; F. L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham; and A. L. Davis, New Orleans. Mrs. William T. Mason, president, National Council of Negro Women; and Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines, president, National Association of Colored Women, also addressed the assemblage.

Mahalia Jackson, the popular and talented gospel singer, was the featured artist of the program. There were other musical numbers by a chorus under the direction of Prof. Warner Lawson of Howard University and by the Philadelphia Fellowship House Choir under Mrs. Aileen Brown's direction. Rose Battle English of New York sang the "Star Spangled Banner" to open the meeting.

Prayers and scripture readings were by Senior AME Bishop S. L. Greene of Atlanta; CME Bishop William Y. Bell; Rev. Ross A. Weston, pastor of the Unitarian Church of Arlington, Va.; Dr. W. H. Jernagin of Washington; Bishop R. C. Lawson of New York City; and the Rev. T. M. Chambers of Los Angeles.

A "Litany of Freedom," written and led by Rev. Thomas Kilgore of New York City, was recited by a massed group of clergymen. Ten year old James and eight year old Theresa Gordon who were barred from attending a school in Clay, Ky., last September, placed a wreath at the foot of the huge and brooding statue of Abraham Lincoln in the Memorial.

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

THE Jewish Labor Committee, which represents a half-million workers in the AFL-CIO, has called upon the federal government to halt the South's assaults on the NAACP and NAACP members. The labor body's administrative committee adopted a resolution containing the plea for remedial action on April 12 in New York City.

At least ten southern states have sought to cripple or wreck the NAACP by means of injunctions, other court actions, laws against the NAACP, and laws against members of the NAACP. "Organized labor, having been a victim of similar punitive legislation, has a special interest in such attacks," the JLC resolution declares.

The statement calls upon Congress to investigate the situation, upon the U.S. Justice Department to "take appropriate action in implementation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution," and upon President Eisenhower to "give moral leadership in this matter which transcends political and ideological views and regional and sectional interests."

Analyzing the civil liberties aspects of the anti-NAACP actions in the South, the resolution says: "Where states pass laws prohibiting the advocacy of integration, they are violating the Constitutional injunction against 'abridging the freedom of speech.' Where states pass laws preventing the NAACP from holding meetings, they are 'abridging . . . the right of the people peaceably to assemble.' "

"These acts cannot be countenanced in a free nation," the document asserts. "State officials must not be permitted to manipulate laws so as to make inoperative any organization or group with which they disagree. Certainly the United States cannot tolerate the attempt by states not only to evade the law of the land but to punish a group of citizens for seeking to uphold that law. The agencies of federal government responsible for law enforcement have a responsibility to act in this matter."

The resolution also expresses the view that "this is a matter of concern, not only for the NAACP, but for every individual and group concerned with preserving equality before the law and freedom of expression. We are all threatened if we remain silent. Where the rights of one group are stifled, the rights of all groups are placed in jeopardy; where freedom of association is denied, freedom of the individual is limited."

READ REPORT ON THE 48th ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NAACP in the AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1957, *CRISIS*

What the Branches Are Doing

California: Tarea Pittman, west coast field secretary, announces several winners in the 1956 Freedom Seal Grand Prizes. Three persons in the group won free roundtrips to the 48th annual NAACP convention at Detroit in June. Mrs. Flossie A. Coleman of Anchorage, Alaska, seal chairman and worker, won both prizes in her division of branches with seal quotas of $50 to $100. She personally sold $241 worth of seals. In the next division with branch quotas of $201 to $500 the Santa Barbara seal chairman won the trip to Detroit. Mrs. S. G. Mims of the Pittsburgh branch won with $125 in freedom seal sales. Seal chairman Mary Collins of Bakersfield won in her division. And Oscar McFarland of Oakland won the Asilomar roundtrip in the $501 and up division with $300 in individual sales.

Connecticut: The executive board of the NEW ENGLAND regional conference held its quarterly meeting in Plainville on March 10.

Delaware: State representative Paul Livingston, also a member of the WILMINGTON branch, has introduced FEPC and civil-rights bills in the Delaware legislature.

The four campaign workers of the Columbus, Ohio, branch pictured here are (from L) Jim Parker, Adoria Whittaker, Rev. Mr. Dallas Jenkins, and Lloyd E. Squaer.

Roosevelt Carter

REPRESENTATIVES *of North New Jersey NAACP hold a joint meeting to plan a coordinated membership campaign. They represent branches in Newark, Paterson, Rahway, Vaux-Hall, Passaic, Jersey City, Perth Amboy, Morristown, and Orange.*

The branch made the following awards at the conclusion of its annual membership campaign: Mrs. Jane Mitchell, individual trophy winner; Dr. Leon V. Anderson Team, team trophy award; The Monday Club, the club trophy award; and Mrs. Molly Fleming's Team, the special membership committee plaque.

Florida: Bishop D. Ward Nichols, speaking before a packed church on Palm Sunday in Miami, officially opened the Florida state NAACP membership drive by taking out an NAACP life membership. Others active in the drive are Dr. C. Kenzie Steele, Tallahassee, co-chairman; Mrs. Betty Wimbish, St. Petersburg, area chairman; David White, Pensacola, area chairman; Dr. A. Reddick, Miami; Dr. A. Leon Lowry, Tampa; and Rev. Louis Burch, Madison.

Other chairmen are Mrs. Marion Muldrow, Miami; Rev. James Byrd, Liberty City; Mrs. Minnie Riggins, Tampa; Rev. A. C. Redd, Tallahassee. The campaign goals are 10,000 members and $25,000 in cash.

The DADE county council of branches sponsored the appearance of Congressman James Roosevelt at an interracial meeting in the Greater Bethel AME church in Miami.

The TAMPA branch has started a program to prepare the community for desegregation.

Illinois: The CHICAGO junior youth council, northside unit #3, sponsored a youth "Know How" conference at the Seward Park Fieldhouse on May 4.

Purpose of the conference was to assist young people to become better and more effective leaders. Through workshops, panels, and "buzz" groups, the

more than 50 Negro and white youths from all parts of the city gained useful information on parliamentary procedures, qualifications for good leadership, functions of committees, etc. There was also discussion of the problems facing young people in their churches, schools, and communities.

Participants in the conference program included Dean Charles H. Long, University of Chicago; Ella Jenkins, West Indian rhythm and dance group; Mark Battle, executive director Lower North Center; Norma Stauffer, executive director McCormick YWCA; Ted Derricote, director community service at Lower North Center; Wilma Smith, senior Girl Scout leader; Abe Hagiwara, program director Olivet Institute; and Benson Jennings, Chicago NAACP youth council.

The entire program was under the direction of Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson and Mrs. Mae Lucas, adult advisors to the Chicago NAACP youth council.

The JOLIET branch has opened its 1957 membership campaign under the co-chairmenship of Julian Browne and Dr. L. H. Holman with Mayor John Hennessey as honorary chairman. Team captains are Mrs. Maryanne Marshall, Joe Farmer, Mrs. Helene Browne, Bernard Williams, Paul Baker, Mrs. Dupree Greenlaw, Mrs. Greer and Dr. L. H. Holman. The branch goal is 500 members.

Iowa: Ike Smalls of the DES MOINES branch has received the President's Award of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America as "one of the distinguished and outstanding congregational leaders" of America.

Maryland: Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the BALTIMORE branch, was selected as the *Afro-American* "Ideal Mother for the Year 1957." One of the many things for which Mrs. Jackson was cited was her leadership of the Baltimore branch of the NAACP since 1935.

Massachusetts: Officers and members of the SPRINGFIELD branch adopted a resolution in May expressing their "feeling of profound sorrow upon the

OFFICERS *and guests attending the annual Springfield, Illinois, branch Lincoln-Douglass Dinner in the Leland Hotel are (from L) Lawrence Thomas, branch president; Rev. William Skadden, Illinois Department of Public Welfare; Dr. A. Ray Grummon, pastor First Methodist church; Mrs. S. A. Taborn; Verne Beatty, Illinois Junior Chamber of Commerce; Rev. Leon Sullivan, pastor Zion Baptist church, Philadelphia, guest speaker; Betty Allen; Mrs. Eulalia Corbin; Malden Jones, feature writer Chicago American; and Rabbi Lewis Satlow, B'rith Sholom Temple, who made the appeal for the NAACP Freedom Fund.*

passing of two of their esteemed members," Henry A. Field and Mary A. Weaver.

Michigan: The youth of the GRAND RAPIDS branch brought suit against Howard Engel, owner of the Shangri-La Roller Rink for denying admission to Negroes on the grounds that they would cause a disturbance and that they were not members of "his club." The trial resulted in a hung jury.

Minnesota: Rev. Frank R. Gordon, pastor of the Shiloh Presbyterian church in Knoxville, Tennessee, was principal speaker at the May 15 meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch.

New Jersey: Mrs. Bessie Petties was presented on May 19 with a gold cup by the ELIZABETH branch for bringing in the largest number of members in the current membership drive. Certificates of merit were awarded Mrs. Benjamin Hartwell, Carolyn Rice, Mrs. Chester Dentley, Mrs. Mildred Thomas, and Almeta Byrd. Gold pins were awarded Mrs. Julia Dandridge, Nathaniel Dennis, Mrs. Nannie Foster, William McNorton, Marion Reed, William Black, Bravell Nesbitt, and Vernon Mitchell.

The Elizabeth branch has reached sixty per cent of its membership goal.

New York: The MANHATTAN, New York, youth council launched its spring membership drive for 15,000 members and $500 in contributions on May 3, with Roy Wilkins as keynote speaker.

One feature of the program was a brief talk by noted jazz musician Louis Armstrong. And the highlight was presentations of citations to Hon. Hulan Jack, borough president of Manhattan; and William Rowe, former seventh deputy police commissioner of New York City. The Borough President proclaimed May 3-9 as "NAACP Day" in Manhattan.

The FAR ROCKAWAY-INWOOD branch reports the following slate of officers: Edward Gibbs, president; Mrs. Eunice Gordon, vice-president; Mrs. Vivian Kuch, secretary; Barbara Jackson, corresponding secretary; Ruth

Mrs. Kristian Gippo receives an award from William M. Barnett, president of the Klamath Falls, Oregon, branch for her work in the freedom seals campaign.

Bethea, financial secretary; and Mrs. Ella Lee, treasurer.

Mrs. Minnie Caldwell, after nine years as president, resigned to "bring in new blood." She received a plaque from the branch in appreciation of her services. This branch has reached and passed both its freedom fund and membership quotas.

The PORT RICHMOND branch held a mass meeting at the St. Phillips Baptist church on June 9 to discuss the shooting of Luther Douglas. The Lambda chapter of the Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority, STATEN ISLAND, made an initial payment on its NAACP life membership at a chapter tea held in the Shiloh AME Zion church on June 9. Purpose of the tea was to honor the graduates of Staten Island's five public high schools.

Ohio: The AKRON youth council and the education committee of the Akron branch jointly sponsored a city-wide career-guidance conference on May 18. More than 15 young people were in attendance to participate in the workshops and group discussions. NAACP youth secretary Herbert L. Wright was the keynote speaker; Dr. Dwight L. Arnold of Kent State University was the other speaker.

Oklahoma: More than 200 youth council and college chapter members in the state of Oklahoma attended the newly organized Oklahoma state conference of youth councils and college chapters held in Oklahoma City April 26-27. The conference theme was "Youth's Role in this Transition Period." Highlight of the conference was issuance of a proclamation by Governor Raymond Gary declaring 27 as "NAACP Youth Day" throughout the state.

Pennsylvania: The PHILADELPHIA branch has received two NAACP life memberships, one from the Bethlehem Baptist church, Rev. James F. Scott, pastor; the other from James W. Grant Lodge, #131, F&AM; both organizations paid $250 each on their pledges.

According to NAACP field secretary Calvin D. Banks, the "adopt-a-branch" campaign is booming in western Pennsylvania. The seventeen branches in the western half of the state adopted on March 30 a coordinated plan to adopt branches in those southern states where the NAACP is under attack. The plan, which was outlined by John Golightly, vice-president of the Pittsburgh branch, paved the way for Pittsburgh's adoption of fifty per cent of the Birmingham, Alabama, membership. The Allegheny-Kiski Valley branch has adopted the Tuscaloosa branch; Erie, St. Clair; Clairton, Greenville; and Connellsville, Clanton; all in Alabama. Some of the branches have not yet made their selections.

The MONONGAHELA VALLEY branch has placed the Dr. Henry F. Owens Memorial Trophy in competition among branches of its size in the state. It will be awarded for one year to the branch reporting the highest totals as officially reported by the membership secretary in the NAACP national office.

Virginia: Mrs. Barbara S. Marx, Arlington county Virginia, a white member of the board of directors of the Virginia state conference of NAACP branches, has been awarded a citation by The Fund for the Republic as one of those "who contributed to the American tradition by standing firm against discrimination and threats of violence in defense of human equality before God and the law." Mrs. Marx, who is also a vice-president of the ARLINGTON COUNTY branch, was one of six white parents who petitioned the Arlington school board to integrate its public schools in conformity with the Supreme Court mandate.

THE *Lambda chapter, Staten Island, New York, of the Lambda Kappa Mu sorority presents a $100 check, through its treasurer Mrs. Mary DuJon, to Samuel Browne of the Staten Island branch, as payment on the chapter's NAACP life membership. Seated are Mrs. Sara Baker and Mrs. Christiana Brooks, parliamentarian; standing (from L) Mrs. Catherine Cowell, basileus; Mrs. Margaret Scott, grammateus; Hazel MacCalla, second vice-president; and Mrs. Sarah Brown, epistoleus.*

ne of the youth in ndance at the Youth ow How Conference nsored by the Chi-o, Illinois, junior th council on May 4.

College and School News

Twenty-four Negroes have been awarded Opportunity Fellowships for 1957 by the JOHN HAY WHITNEY FOUNDATION. These awards are granted to young men and women who show exceptional promise and who have been prevented by race, cultural background, economic status, or region of residence from fully developing their potentialities. In the eight years the program has been in operation, awards have been made to 169 Negroes.

■

Dr. William H. Allen, dean of the MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE dental school, attended the thirty-fourth annual meeting of the American Association of Dental Schools in Atlantic City.

■

DILLARD UNIVERSITY observed its twenty-second annual commencement exercises on June 3, with Judge William H. Hastie delivering the commencement address.

■

Dr. W. D. Weatherford, vice-chairman of the trustees of BEREA COLLEGE (Kentucky), has written a book, *American Churches and the Negro* (Christopher), on the attitude of the American churches toward the Negro during slavery.

■

Ernest Edward Ratliff, fourth ranking honor student in a class of 145 at the LIGON HIGH SCHOOL (Raleigh, N. C.), has been granted a $1,550 scholarship to Colgate university, Hamilton, New York. The scholarship is renewable.

■

Ninety-one men were candidates for the bachelor's degree at the ninetieth annual commencement exercises

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of MOREHOUSE COLLEGE on June 4. Dr. Frank Graham, UN mediator to Pakistan and former president of the University of North Carolina, was the commencement speaker.

Eight students of French at Morehouse, Spelman, and Atlanta have been initiated into the Beta Upsilon chapter of the French honorary society of Pi Delta Phi.

■

Dr. Ira De A. Reid, professor of sociology at Haverford college, addressed 140 graduating seniors at CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE on June 9. Dr. John W. Millette, president of Miami university (Oxford, Ohio), addressed the fourth annual honors day convocation.

Mack M. Greene, director of the CSC division of health, recreation, and physical education for twenty-seven years, has been granted a leave of absence for one year to accept a Fulbright award as an international educational exchange lecturer in Madras, India.

■

Friends of Dr. William E. B. Du Bois presented a bronze head of the 89-year-old author and editor to the SCHOMBURG COLLECTION OF NEGRO LITERATURE AND HISTORY of The New York Public Library in ceremonies on May 7. The head was sculptured by William Zorach.

Speakers at the event were Judge Jane Bolin, who talked on "DuBois, the pioneer"; author Van Wyck Brooks, who evaluated Dr. DuBois's contributions to American literature; sociologist Dr. E. Franklin Frazier discussed the socio-philosophy of the man; and Mr. Zorach.

Dr. W. Montague Cobb, professor and head of the department of anatomy in the Howard university school of medicine, was unanimously elected president of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists at its twenty-sixth annual meeting at the University of Michigan on April 13. This is the first time a Negro scientist has headed a national scientific society in the United States.

■

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DIRECTOR OF ADMISSIONS

Theodore B. Wynne, Worcester, Massachusetts, has been selected for membership by Gargoyle, Williams college (Williamstown, Massachusetts) senior honor society. Wynne, class of '58, is the first Negro in fifty-seven years to be tapped by the 64-year-old society.

Gargoyle limits its membership to twenty persons. Herewith is a résumé of Wynn's accomplishments:

Recipient of the Harvard Book Prize, 1953, awarded for high scholarship and character.

President of the senior class of Classical High School, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Awarded scholarships from Williams, Harvard, and Amherst.

Active in the Worcester branch of the NAACP and the Inter-Racial Council.

Member of the Vinton Guild of Acolytes, All-Saints Episcopal church, Worcester.

Senior counselor for two years at YMCA Camp Blanchard.

Elected class representative to the Williams college council for three consecutive years. Served one year as treasurer of the council.

First Negro member of a William's fraternity, Sigma Phi, of which he is vice-president and "rushing" chairman.

■

John R. Cottin, professor at Fisk

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UNIVERSITY, is the first Negro to obtain a Ph. D. degree at the University of Montreal after writing and defending a thesis in French. Dr. Cottin's thesis is on the works of Victor Sejour, a Louisiana-born playwright who migrated to France circa 1835. Dr. Cottin was born in Augusta, Georgia.

The Fisk administration announces the construction of two new buildings on the campus as part of the $1,750,000 reorganization plan envisioned by the late president Charles S. Johnson. The new buildings are to be erected at a combined cost of $855,000 and are being financed by a loan from the Communities Facilities Administration.

The university was host in April to the twenty-eighth annual spring festival of music and art.

■

Senator Stuart Symington was commencement speaker at the annual commencement convocation of LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) on June

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LAFAYETTE PARKER *of Fayetteville State Teachers College who took his Ed. D. degree at the University of Pittsburgh on June 12.*

3 when eighty-nine degrees were conferred upon graduates.

Lincoln has started construction on its new $692,000 auditorium wing of the Clement C. Richardson Auditorium Fine Arts Center.

The university will put a new journalism curriculum in operation with the 1957 fall semester.

■

The TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE school of nursing has recently received full accreditation by the National Nursing Accrediting Service for Professional Schools of Nursing, New York City.

■

Former administrative dean and vice-president of LANGSTON UNIVERSITY, Rufus Patterson Perry, has been elected president of Johnson C. Smith university.

■

General Motors has made a grant of $35,000 to the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND, which brings to $135,000 the amount General Motors has thus far given to the Fund. Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts presented his $500 Pulitzer Prize check to the UNCF in Boston on May 11.

The UNCF has also received a grant of $75,000 from the General Education Board to open new campaign territory during the next three years.

■

Dr. Hornell Hart, professor of sociology at Duke university, delivered the commencement address at JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY on June 3.

■

Fifty-nine teachers of secondary science, from thirteen states and the District of Columbia, have been awarded stipends to attend a summer institute at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE. The institute is being sponsored on a $66,000 grant from the National Science Foundation.

■

Dr. Robert MacDonald Lester, executive director of the Southern Fellowships Fund, Chapel Hill, N. C., was principal speaker at the seventy-second annual commencement of VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE.

VSC was host June 17-21 to the twelfth annual coaching clinic; and

on July 9-11, the second annual farm and home week.

■

Dr. Thomas H. Henderson, dean of VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY, was one of the speakers on a panel discussion of illegitimacy in Richmond, Virginia.

Friends, students, and colleagues of Dr. John W. Barco, teacher and administrator, honored him for his fifty odd years of service to the university by a testimonial dinner.

■

The Rev. Benjamin J. Anderson was SPELMAN COLLEGE's commencement speaker on June 3. Pauline Drake of Atlanta has been awarded the Arnett Scholarship at Spelman for the year 1957-58.

JOHN W. PARKER *of Fayetteville State Teachers College, recently elected to membership in Pi Kappa Delta honorary forensic society.*

■

James Q. DuPont of Delaware was SHAW UNIVERSITY's ninety-second commencement speaker on May 27.

■

Layafette Parker, for two years dean of men and for the past eight years an instructor in education at FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, has been awarded the Doctor of Education degree in elementary education and administration by the University of Pittsburgh.

John W. Parker, chairman of the area of English, has been admitted to membership in the Pi Kappa Delta Honorary Forensic Society, with special distinction in debate, oratory, and instruction.

The eightieth annual commencement exercises at FSTC were held on June 4, with Stephen J. Wright, president of Bluefield college, as principal speaker.

The six-week summer session of the college got under way June 12 and will extend through July 20.

■

Lillian Smith, noted author, was commencement speaker at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY on June 3 when seventy-eight graduates received degrees. Fifteen of the degrees were in the graduate school of arts and sciences, thirty-four in the school of social work, seven in the school of library

science, eighteen in the school of education, and four in the school of business administration.

Walter Wallace of Atlanta received the second Atlanta University Purchase Award in Oils at the sixteenth annual Atlanta university art exhibit. The prize was awarded on the popular ballot of the more than 1,500 people attending the exhibit for his figure painting, "Contemplative." The work was given "honorable mention" by the judges, as was Mr. Wallace's other entry, a sculptured head.

Benjamin Britt of Philadelphia was awarded the top purchase award, a $300 prize for the best figure painting in oil, "Yield Not"; Thomas Jefferson Flanagan of Atlanta won the John Hope purchase award of $250 for the best landscape, "Fishing on the Quarters"; and Geraldine McCullough of Maywood, Illinois, won the first Atlanta university purchase award of $150 for her "Of Hope."

In water color the first prize of $125 went to Jewel Simon of Atlanta for "Marine Land Fantasy," the second to John Wilson of Chicago for "Black Despair." The two awards in sculpture, the first of $250, the second of $100, were given to Hayward L. Oubre of Montgomery, Alabama, for "Crown of Thorns," and to Jack Jordan of Langston, Oklahoma, for "Christ Crowned with Thorns."

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Book Reviews

POTENT OBSERVATIONS

Go *South to Sorrow*. By Carl T. Rowan. VIII+246pp. New York: Random House, 1957. $3.50.

In these days since May 17, 1954, a cliché can blossom overnight. "Extremists on both sides," for example, is hardly President Eisenhower's creation but since he gave the phrase the endorsement of his high office, it has gained nation-wide acceptance. It was a better phrasemaker, Adlai E. Stevenson, who cited the "men of goodwill in the South who, with courage and patience, have already accomplished so much." Since then "men of goodwill" have plagued us.

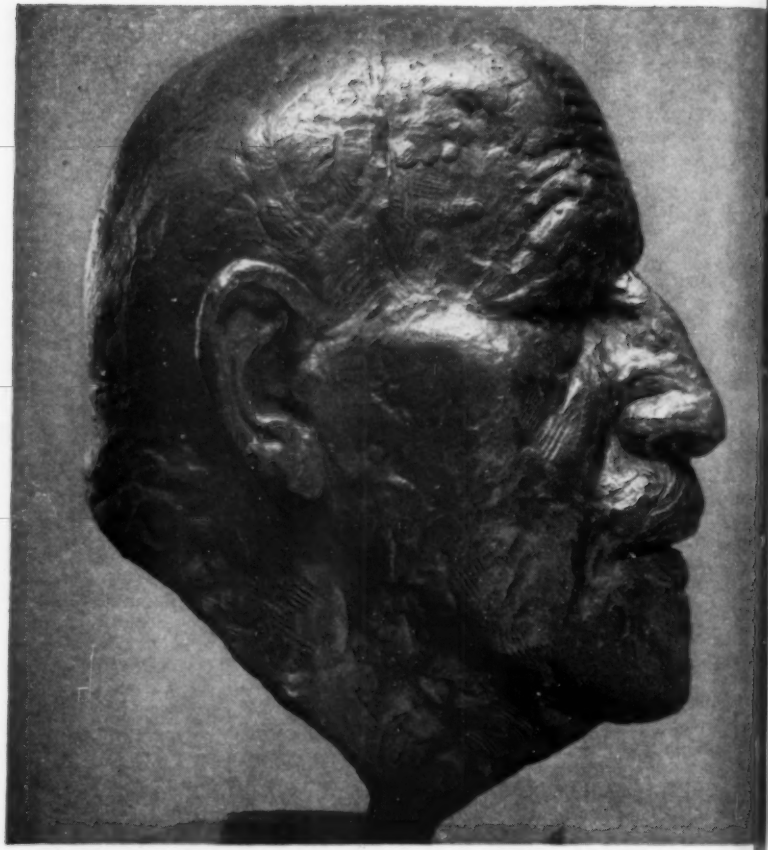
Conversely, a word or phrase can just as quickly fall into disrepute. No astute Northern politician is a "gradualist" since February 8, 1956, when the same Mr. Stevenson appeared before a Negro audience in Los Angeles and slipped upon this one: "We must proceed gradually, not upsetting habits or traditions that are older than the Republic."

The audience reaction to Mr. Stevenson's remark was dutifully recorded by the New York Times: "There was a murmur of protest in the crowd, and one tall Negro was heard to say, 'I think he is a phony'."

The reviewer would be among the first to dispute the anonymous Negro's opinion, but his reaction symbolizes the race's growing impatience with words instead of deeds. This impatience is formalized in *Go South To Sorrow*, the second book by the noted *Minneapolis Tribune* reporter based on his observations of segregation in the South. If Mr. Stevenson had read *South of Freedom*, published in 1952, he would have perhaps remembered Mr. Rowan's classic answer to the time-is-not-ripe school: "Gradualism finds easy acceptance when it is someone else's freedom that is to come later."

In this new book Mr. Rowan emerges as American journalism's number one exploder of the myths spawned by easy generalities, and the number one exposer of the dubious motives of many of those who give glib utterance to them. Thus President Eisenhower is joined by Governor Earl Long of Louisiana and an un-named Mississippi editor in his aversion to "extremists on both sides." The President may not equate the NAACP with the Ku Klux Klan, but he gives credence to those who do.

Mr. Rowan insists that one of the saddest aspects of the Southern tragedy is the quietness of the men-of-goodwill front. The Southern liberal of yesterday is the Southern moderate of today, and moderation has become a euphemism



THIS *William Zorach bronze sculpture of Dr. William E. B. DuBois was presented to The New York Public Library's Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature and History on May 7, 1957, at ceremonies participated in by Dr. DuBois's friends and admirers. (See page 371.) The portrait was given to the Library by friends of the 89-year-old author and editor who had commissioned it. Dr. Dubois was founder of* THE CRISIS *magazine, which he edited for twenty-four years, from 1910 until 1934.*

for inaction. Or as Mr. Rowan puts it: "I see great danger that while the thinking Americans, the supposed sentinels of liberty, are being swallowed up in this cult whose creed is gutlessness in the name of 'moderation,' the forces of bigotry and reaction will strike some mortal blows at the heart of the Republic. This nation will flounder, and it will deserve to flounder, so long as we face our most distressing and demoralizing domestic problem with indecision and timidity."

These are unequivocal words, spoken by a man whom some might describe as "a Jackie Robinson type," meaning any Negro who is outspoken and aggressive. But lest the "hothead" label be pinned on Mr. Rowan, let him point out that every major gain in race relations has been accomplished by militant Negroes and courageous whites who are now attacked as "extremists." These are listed as organizations like the NAACP and individuals like Judge J. Waties Waring, whose ruling against the "white primary" got him "virtually chased out of South Carolina after today's so-called 'moderates' took part in ostracizing him socially."

Such potent observations as Mr. Rowan makes have been made before, but seldom has the case against segregation been stated so vigorously or so well.

LUTHER P. JACKSON, JR.

LUTHER P. JACKSON, JR., *is a reporter on the staff of the* Newark Evening News, *Newark, New Jersey.*

The August and September issues of *The Crisis* are combined, August-September. Out September 1, 1957.

CULTURAL CONFLICTS

***Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World.* By E. Franklin Frazier. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957. IX+338+XIIpp. $6.00.**

Voltaire's D'Amabed (*The Letters of D'Amabed,* 1769) remarks in his second letter to his son Shastasid: "My dear son, I stand in mortal fear of the irruption of the European barbarians into our happy country."

What are today known as "racial problems" began with D'Amabed's "irruption of the European barbarians" into non-European countries. Superior arms, and weaknesses within the Asian and African communities, made subjugation easy and because the conquerors were white and the conquered colored, the Europeans grew to believe themselves inherently superior while at the same time the non-Europeans were permanently inferior. Thus white became the "proper color for a gentleman"; black, the badge of proletarian inferiority. These ideas, of course, did not develop at once, but they slowly matured with the consolidation of European power. Though early contacts between Europeans and non-Europeans were usually friendly, they gradually degenerated into mutual hostility as the two groups became acutely aware of their cultural differences.

These conflicts were not racial in the biological sense, as Dr. Frazier demonstrates, although we are wont to think that they are in light of the present-day phenomenon of racialism. One way to understand the significance of this is to remember that neither the word "race," in the modern sense, nor the noun "civilization" appears in Nathaniel Bailey's *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721). And the verb "to civilize" means to make courteous and tractable; while "race" is defined by Mr. Bailey as "lineage, family, stock." Nor did the word "race"

exist in classical Greek and Latin. With imperialism it became a matter of importance to find some justification for European dominance and economic exploitation of Asians and Africans, so "race" became the warrant to saddle the colored man with the "white man's burden" and *la mission civilisatrice*. *L'esprit de peau* had triumphed!

An apt illustration of the fact that "racial problems" originally had nothing to do with race is the fact that the white Cagots of France and Spain, though no different in language and culture from their neighbors, were despised as inferiors and treated like present-day Negroes in Mississippi. Even Comte Arthur de Gobineau, the ideological father of modern racism, was really not concerned with race as such, but with the decline of the European aristocracy, of which he was a member, and the rising democratic spirit in Europe.

Dr. Frazier shows how these racial frontiers were established and how they are maintained. He distinguishes three types, each with its own special attributes: multiracial communities such as the United States and South Africa, the tropical dependencies "where Europeans have not been able to establish large settlements," and the older civilizations of Asia. He discusses these contacts in the light of their economic, political, and social organizations. One cannot gainsay Dr. Frazier's thesis, yet the irrational race myth is still important. The popular mind still believes that race is a hidden and all-powerful force. Race taints not only our own McCarren-Walter Act, but the immigration laws and regulations of many of our sister Latin-American republics where colored peoples are "racially undesirable for citizenship." Race is a simplistic explanation which prevents people from consideration of the socio-cultural and politico-economic problems which confront them, and it is in light of this fact that Dr. Frazier's analyzes the most significant aspects of the history of race and culture contacts for the past two hundred years. This is a book which thoughtful people should read.

JAMES W. IVY

SOMETHING ABOUT WOMEN

The American Woman: An Historical Study. **By Eric John Dingwall. New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1957. XI+309pp. $4.50.**

The Psychology of Sexual Emotion: The Basis of Selective Attraction. **By Vernon W. Grant, Ph.D. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957. VIII+270pp. $4.75.**

Love and Fulfilment in Woman. **By Dr. Noël Lamare. Translated from the French by Adrienne and Ralph Case. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957. 179pp. $3.50.**

These three books are concerned with the relationship between women and men. Dr. Dingwall, an English anthropologist, studies the American woman as a present-day problem both to herself and to her man. Dr. Grant, an American psychologist, tries to get at the bottom of the nature of love. And Dr. Lamare, a French physician, discusses "the importance of psychological factors in the genesis of sexual desire and potency."

That there is widespread sexual maladjustment and unhappiness in America as a result of changes in the respective sex roles of male and female is obvious. But the extent of the befuddlement, the number of Americans involved, and the precise causes are still subjects for endless debate. Here is the way Dr. Dingwall outlines the *malaise*.

In the early history of the United States, puritanism put the American woman on a pedestal. Then science came along to outmode the puritan philosophy and industrialization to give women independence and equality. The American male, in the meantime, had

got himself so deeply enmeshed in business and technology that he failed to act toward his women as they really desired. The humanizing aspects of life —teaching and the arts—he left to the women because he felt that interests in these things in some way destroyed his masculinity. Yet, despite the precedence he gives business over women, he exploits female physical sexuality by tying sex and the female body to the profit motive, using it to sell everything from toothpaste to political candidates. These are some of the reasons, the author explains, "how it is that, in a country where woman is apparently almost supreme in so many different fields, she should be so dissatisfied and conduct herself in a way which seems continually to evoke a chorus of criticism."

What percentage of American women suffer from this "economic" and "sexual" conflict? Probably one person's guess is as good as another's. Dr. Dingwall admits that his study is not scientific and that it concerns itself with "certain aspects of the sexual life of a significant number of American women of the upper and middle income groups." Many features of American culture which Dr. Dingwall regards as quintessentially American are really Euro-American. What he considers American "passion for the bosom," is, for example, just as much European as American. The ancient Greeks, according to Dr. Paul Hans Brandt, "practised a true cult of the female bosom," and it was Marie Antoinette who had a *Sevrès bol-sein* modeled from her breasts. *The American Woman* offers the reader much useful documentation and food for thought.

Dr. Grant's *The Psychology of Sexual Emotion* reads like a Ph.D. thesis, with its nice balancing of pros and cons and its parade of authorities (some 240 are cited) from Amiel to Zola. What the author's conclusion boils down to is that there is more to love than Panurge's "issuant act of bolting," and that love, to quote Plutarch, is "a riddle hard to understand and hard to solve."

Whereas Dr. Grant tries to get at the nature of love, Dr. Lamare tries to get at the nature of erotic desire and sexual fulfilment in woman. He stresses the difference between male and female sexuality, pointing out that wherein "man regards love as an imperative need to appease an organic necessity woman loves with her soul, her heart, her imagination," and the need for the man to take these facts into consideration in his love-making. After establishing these basic erotic differences between the sexes, our author turns *praeceptor Amoris* (professor of Love), detailing the steps necessary for the proper blooming of the "sensual capacities." Dr. Lamare writes revealingly of the world of love and sensuality.

Love and Fulfilment in Woman, as the English version of *Connaissance Sensuelle de la Femme,* has several expurgations and omits two chapters found in the original: "Pathological Consequences of Abnormal Sexual Practices" and "Periodic Continence."

JAMES W. IVY

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LOOKING & LISTENING

(*Continued from page* 355)

stand against segregation many times. It alarmed me to find that I was a leader in an organization which not only approves but practices segregation.'

She said she told her four subordinate officers in the local Rainbow assembly about this discovery and found that they agreed with her, feeling that a segregated club is wrong.

Barbara said she first brought the subject formally before a Rainbow session a couple of weeks ago. She said the assembly's adult adviser insisted that the issue be dropped.

'I got fed up and walked out. The other girls were kept there for an hour,' said Barbara. . . .

Although Miss McMorris later made unsuccessful attempts to get in touch with the parent organization, her local chapter voted to admit Negroes.

The Rainbow is generally regarded as the junior auxiliary of the Order of Eastern Star, the women's auxiliary of the Masons.

If it comes to a choice between my religion or Rainbow," says Barbara, "I'll take my religion."

ELECTED TO BOARD

A NEGRO woman has for the first time been elected to the Dover, Delaware, board of education in the person of Mrs. Cecie P. Henry. The Wilmington *Journal-Every Evening* says:

Mrs. Henry, widow of Dr. William W. M. Henry, for whom the comprehensive high school at Dover is named, polled 377 votes in the four-way Dover contest.

H. Gordon Fromm was close behind her with 370 votes, and Mrs. Mary S. Brown was only four votes back with 366. The fourth candidate was Charles M. Anderson, who polled 185 votes.

Mrs. Henry, who has taught at Delaware State College and in the public school system, is a leader in the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers. She is a graduate of Delaware State and the Temple University School of Pharmacy.

It was the heaviest turnout in Dover school election history with 1,304 votes cast. Mrs. Henry received 358 of her votes at the polling place in the Booker T. Washington School. . . .

ALCORN STUDENTS

(*Continued from page* 351)

dent leaders who had been denied readmission to the college to complete their education at other colleges and universities. The Youth and College Division of the Association then went into action. Telephone calls were placed to college and university presidents across the nation to see if the dismissed student leaders could be placed without loss of credit or class standing.

The response was unanimously in the affirmative. Dr. Charles H. Wesley, president of Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio; and Dr. Samuel Proctor, president of Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, were among the first to reply. They offered full cooperation in helping the NAACP to aid these students in the completion of their education. Five students were placed at

Central State College; two others, at Virginia Union University.

These students have made remarkable progress in their school work despite the loss of time from classes and the psychological effect of the walkout. In fact, Ernest McEwen, former president of the student body at Alcorn, graduated with distinction from Central State College on June 9, 1957.

Through the cooperation of presidents Charles Wesley and Samuel Proctor, and their respective faculties, the remainder of the Alcorn student leaders will be able to complete their education despite the ordeal which they have gone through. The story of the Alcorn students is a vivid demonstration of the fact that there is a "New Negro" in the making who places a high value on freedom and our democratic concepts of government, and who is willing to make great personal sacrifices, if need be, to insure that these principles become real and meaningful to all American citizens.

HERBERT L. WRIGHT
NAACP Youth Secretary

LYSISTRATA A L'AFRICAINE

(*Continued from page* 348)

than overpopulated influences the potential urban and rural work force, the birth rate, mortality rates, etc. If we exclude North Africa with its 42 millions of people, we find that black Africa has only some 160,000,000 of people, a population roughly equal to that of the United States and much less than that of Russia. Cahier No. 13 of *Présence Africaine* (Le Travail en Afrique Noire) is witness to the fact that black Africans are aware of the importance of demography in their future development.

CLARENCE DARROW

(*Continued from page* 329)

cigar. His face was dead pan. I saw Darrow reach into his coat pocket and pull out a Little Blue Book. it was "The Freedom of Man, Woman and Child," by Robert Ingersoll. Darrow's eyes lighted and humor showed in his face. The enigma of "the most stubborn man," that had evaded him so long, was solved.

I watched Darrow as the courtroom crowd broke up, and he edged toward the doorway carrying his briefcase, still surrounded by admirers. The shadow of a great weariness was beginning to show in his aging countenance. He was heading back into retirement—or so he thought. But greatness never retires. Before long, his name was to flash again in headlines all over the world as he battled another shibboleth of human society—capital punishment—in the lurid drama of the Loeb-Leopold case.

I have walked out of many verdicts in a quarter of a century of reporting, but never has anyone so influenced my thinking as did Clarence Darrow, the great trial lawyer, defending the rights of man under the pressure of prejudice.

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